41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

curable illnesses is described (Chapters 5-8). Some emphasis is placed on reproduction and sexuality (Chapters 3 and 4), because reproductive success is the ultimate test of any society's adaptation to its environment. The role of the therapist and associated specialists, and their relations with their clients, is an extremely critical factor in the maintenance of a folk medical system. Equally important to the propagation of this knowledge is the recruitment of apprentices and the relationships they develop with a therapist (Chapter 10). Care of the living body and the advent of death receive some consideration (Chapters 2 and 9). Finally, this study may be of particular interest to pharmacologists because it identifies each of the substances used in every medicament described (Chapters 4-7).

Differential interaction between Badagas and their environment — an environment which does of course include disease organisms — has over some 20 generations led to a survival of the healthier individuals, a higher fertility, and in general a steady expansion of their occupancy of the Nilgiri Massif, beginning with the founding of Tu:ne:ri village in the sixteenth century on the arrival of a few dozen refugees, and culminating in the very large and prosperous population of today (Diagram 1). The medical ethnography which follows will attempt to delineate the important factors in their adaptation.

Introducing the Badagas

1.2. The Badagas are a community of Hindu peasants who numbered 104,919 people in the official census of 1971. They live almost entirely on the Nilgiri Massif, which is in the westernmost corner of Tamil Nadu State, India, some 11°N from the Equator. The great majority of them are potato, cabbage and tea cultivators, but until the early years of this century they were farming such subsistence crops as barley, wheat, and several millets. The fields surround their villages and farms. They rarely irrigate, but rely instead on the two regular monsoons. Some people also keep herds of buffalo and cattle for milk and other dairy products, but not for meat.

Their long rows of brick houses lie along the leeward slopes of the hills, and are thus protected from the worst of the rains. In every village there are also temples or shrines to various Hindu gods. Badagas are nearly all Hindus of Saivite persuasion; two small but significant minorities are the Lingayats and the Christians.

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC SETTING

The Terrain

131 The Nilgiri Hills, once also known as the Blue Mountains, are a plateau some 600 square miles in area, situated in Southern India at the juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnatak, Malabar and Tamilnād; or of 631 modern Mysore, Kerala and Madras States. Today the Nilgiris form one small 101 administrative District of Madras State. They are the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays many other peoples also live there.

133 The plateau is generally in the altitude range of 6000-8000 feet, and one peak (among the highest in peninsular India) reaches 8640 feet. In contrast with this the western quarter of the District averages around 3000 feet in altitude, and 128 forms a part of the Wynaad Plateau. In this study I use the term Nilgiris in its geographical sense rather than its political one, thereby excluding the Wynaad when I speak of the Nilgiris.

133 The slopes of the Nilgiri Plateau fall away very steeply, and on the eastern edge actually drop some 6000 feet in a distance of less than two miles. The slopes 137 136 have always been covered by a dense subtropical jungle which harbors tigers, leopards, wild buffaloes, elephants, snakes, malarial mosquitoes, and (formerly 195 dangerous) hunting tribes still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Toda AW60

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ABSTRACT

The Nilgiri District, east of Calicut, India, is dominated by a higher than 6,000-foot massif commonly called the Nilgiris. The northwestern section of the District extends onto the lower Mysore Plateau and the northern section lies in the Mysore Ditch, a broad valley. This study is a survey of how five ethnic groups, the Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, have interacted with neighbors and utilized landscapes within the Nilgiri District. The historical perspective is employed throughout.

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The study is based upon an occupance concept in which men are treated as 1) makers of cultural products termed occupance forms, 2) landscape utilizers who alter landscapes to varying degrees, 3) generators of inter-human economic activities, and 4) employees in economies generated by outsiders to their own small cultures. The outstanding characteristics of resultant dynamic cultural complexes, termed occupance patterns, are described. Because dwellings and temples proved to be particularly useful cultural indicators, they were classified according to exterior characteristics and the functional arrangements of their interiors. It also became necessary to employ an agricultural classification system with the three divisions of dry fields, wet fields, and gardens.

Todas living mainly on the northwestern upper Nilgiris are differentiated from the other ethnic groups by their barrel-vaulted,

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6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 Little was known of the people inhabiting the Nilgiri District, southern India, until Francis Buchanan visited the District in 1800. Since that time, five ethnic groups have been mentioned repeatedly in the writings of other visitors to the District. Using the interrelated criteria of occupance patterns, occupance forms, and economies, this study surveys and analyzes the cultural contrasts and similarities exhibited by the five groups. Because significant changes have occurred since 1800, the historical perspective is applied to the three criteria whenever possible. A study in depth, by its very nature, contributes to an understanding of factors causing cultural contrasts and similarities among the five ethnic groups in the early 1800s, and of factors leading to changes since then.

1. The Study Region and Five Ethnic Groups

131 (101) (631) The study region. The Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, who form the main subjects of this study, live within the Nilgiri District of Madras State. The District lies approximately west-southwest from Madras city, the capital of Madras State, and is less than 50 miles east of Calicut, the southern Indian port reached by Vasco da Gama in 1498 (Figure 1). The Nilgiri massif, with several peaks higher than 8,000 feet, dominates much of the District. However, a part of the District extends over the Wynaad Plateau to

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AN50 Badaga
AN55 Kota
AN56 Kurumba
AN60 Toda
AN63 Madras Tribes
Kasuva

Figure 1. Index maps

131 133 the northwest and into a broad valley called the Mysore Ditch to the north. The eastern slopes of the Nilgiri massif rise above the Central Plain of peninsular India, and the western slopes rise above Malabar plains. The Wynaad Plateau, partially bordered by Western Ghats mountains, lies above the Malabar plains and emerges with the Mysore Plateau to the northeast. The Nilgiri District is bordered by Mysore and Kerala states, and the general region wherein the District lies has 177 (131) long been a contact zone where Kannada-speaking, Malayalam-speaking, and Tamil-speaking southern Indians have met and, on occasion, fought. Despite past wars, nominal control by different rulers, and the fact that the Nilgiri region is near some of the Malabarian ports associated with earliest European contacts, the region had remained relatively isolated until Englishmen started to settle on the Nilgiri massif in the early 1820s.

The English first used the massif as a health resort, but they later established many coffee and tea plantations in the Nilgiri District. The District is now the leading tea growing region and the fifth ranking coffee growing region in southern India (United Planters Association of Southern India 1960: 390). Ootacamund, in the middle 177 631 of the Nilgiri massif, grew into the central administrative and resort city with over 50,000 people in 1961. The next two cities in size are Coonoor (over 30,000) to the southeast and Kotagiri (over 15,000) to the east of Ootacamund. Both are early resort centers which even- 631 tually also served the needs of the coffee and tea industries. Smaller Gudalur (over 8,000), in the northwestern portion of the District, is the administrative center for the Nilgiri Wynaad and caters to local

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50 ●
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
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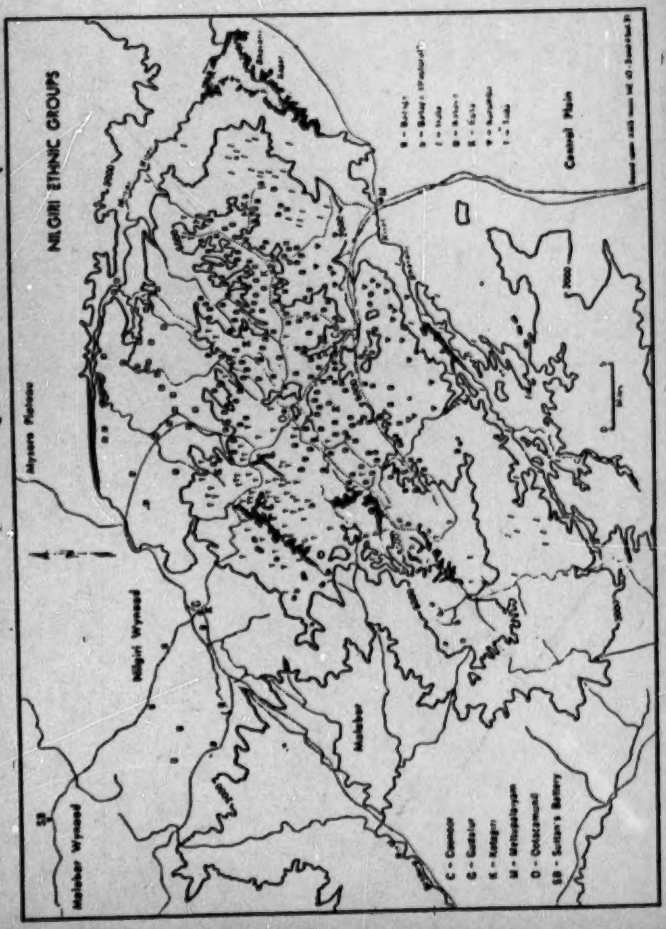

Figure 2.

AM50 Badaga AM50
Kota AM55
Kurumba AM56
Toda AM60
Madras Tribes AM63
Kasuva

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Figure 3.

81 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN30 Badaga AN30

PAUL HOCKINGS

Badaga Kinship Rules in Their Socio-Economic Context

Abstract. – *The Badagas, a large refugee millet-farming community on the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, have a Dravidian kinship system. Their larger social units include several levels of lineage, clans, and phratries. While much discussion of Dravidian kinship focusses on rules, this paper concentrates on actual practices, looking especially at situations for which there are no established rules. Many of the rules that do exist are shown to be preferences rather than prescriptions, particularly those relating to the choice of a marriage-partner: although the system is rigidly patrilineal, residence after marriage is not always patrilocal. The joint family is still widespread. Among the unusual features of Badaga society, generation levels are only identifiable among males. This, combined with the frequency of remarriage and the existence of polygyny, means that affines may be able to trace the kin relationship between them through several different "routes." Only the sons inherit property, but while they all get an equal share of the land, it is only the youngest who inherits the parental home. Uncle/niece marriage and other more anomalous possibilities are examined. The paper illustrates the workings of a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and explores the nature of marriage reciprocity between villages.* [India, Kinship, Marriage, Inheritance]

The Badagas are a refugee millet-farming community who live on the Nilgiri Massif of Southern India. They are not however the victims of any recent political repression, for their ancestors moved up into that mountain environment during the 16th and 17th centuries, following the Muslim invasions of Mysore which brought the Vijayanagar Empire to an end. Those

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